

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6804

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 11957

NOFORN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA

SUBJECT: CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS: GOJ RE-ASSESSMENT

REF: TOKYO 11225

SUMMARY: FURTHER STUDY OF CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS BY  
FONOFF REFUTES QTE TOTAL CHOU VICTORY UNQTE ASSESSMENT  
ALTHOUGH GOJ EXPECTS CHINA TO FOLLOW CHOU'S POLICIES AND  
LEADERSHIP IN NEAR FUTURE. CONTRADICTIONS IN CONGRESS  
CENTERING ON LIN PIAO REPORT, DISSIMILARITY OF WANG  
HUNG-WEN'S AND CHOU'S REPORTS, AND OMISSION OF COMMENT  
ON PRC'S ECONOMY LEAD FONOFF TO QUESTION EXTENT OF  
CHOU'S POWER AND STABILITY OF COALITION HE AND MAO  
STRUCTURED FOR SUCCESSION. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF DEP HEAD CHINA DIVISION OGURA TOLD EMBOFF

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THAT AFTER FURTHER REFLECTION AND DISCUSSION IN FONOFF

THEY DECIDED THAT INITIAL ASSESSMENT (REFTEL) OF CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS HAD ASSIGNED TOO COMPLETE A VICTORY TO CHOU EN-LAI. FURTHER STUDY DIVINED STRANGE CONTRADICTIONS IN CONGRESS' REPORTS AND COMPROMISES WHICH CHOU WOULD SEEMINGLY NOT RPT NOT HAVE HAD TO MAKE HAD HE BEEN IN UNQUESTIONED CONTROL.

2. OGURA CITED REPORT ON LIN PIAO AS INTERNALLY CONTRADICTIONARY AND A STRANGE CONCOCTION FOR TOP LEADERSHIP OF CHINA TO FABRICATE OR WORSE STILL BELIEVE. (OGURA ASKED IF SOVIETS HAD EVER CONFIRMED TO US LIN'S BODY WAS ON PLANE IN MONGOLIA). IN CONTRAST, REPUDIATION OF LIU SHAO-CHI AT NINTH CONGRESS WAS PLAUSIBLE.

3. EVEN MORE PUZZLING TO OGURA ARE GREAT DIFFERENCES IN TONE AND CONTENT OF WANG HUNG-WEN'S AND CHOU'S REPORTS. INDEED WHAT IS WANG'S REAL ROLE? IS HE A SACRIFICE TO YOUTH AND EXTREMISTS TO BE KNOCKED DOWN IN THREE YEARS? OGURA POINTED TO WANG'S (AND IN CONSTITUTION) DICTUM TO QTE GO AGAINST THE TIDE UNQTE AND WORDING LIKE QTE ABSOLUTELY IMPERMISSABLE TO SUPPRESS CRITICISM AND TO RETALIATE UNQTE AND THEN MOST UN-CHOU-LIKE, QTE BY-PASS IMMEDIATE LEADERSHIP AND REPORT DIRECTLY TO HIGHER LEVELS UNQTE, AS ADVOCACIES STRAIGHT FROM CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND AS THREATS TO STABILITY WHICH CHOU SEEKS.

4. OGURA FOUND OMISSION OF SUBSTANTIVE REMARKS ON THE ECONOMY EXTRAORDINARY. CONGRESS WAS UNCTUOUS ABOUT ECONOMY BUT THERE WERE NO PLANS OR EVEN COMMENT ON STATE OF ECONOMY. OMISSION COULD BE RESULT OF POOR ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WHICH QTE GOOD PROSPECTS UNQTE USUALLY CONNOTES BUT MORE LIKELY OMISSION REFLECTS CLASS/STRUCTURE CONFLICT EMBODIED IN LIU SHAO-CHI AFFAIR AND NINTH PARTY CONGRESS. WANG SUBSCRIBED TO NINTH PARTY LINE, SAYING, QTE TRANSFORM THOSE PARTS OF SUPERSTRUCTURE THAT DO NOT CONFORM TO THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC BASE UNQTE. ACCORDING TO OGURA, CHOU IS GREATLY CONCERNED WITH THE ECONOMY AND KNOWS WHAT MUST BE DONE: FOLLOW LIU SHAO-CHI'S LINE. CHOU'S SILENCE  
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ON SUBJECT PRESUMABLY MEANS THAT HE DOES NOT RPT NOT HAVE POWER TO EFFECT NECESSARY REFORM.

T. OGURA EMPHASIZED IN CONCLUSION THAT MOST IMPORTANT OBSERVATION ABOUT CONGRESS WAS THAT THIS WAS CONGRESS WHICH MAO AND CHOU EVIDENTLY ASSUME TO BE THEIR LAST. THIS IMPRESSION IS THREADED THROUGHOUT THE CONGRESS. VIEWED IN THIS LIGHT RESULTS ARE EXTRAORDINARY. IF ONE

DELETES FROM POLITBURO OLD GENERALS TUNG PI-WU AND CHU  
TE AND LIGHTWEIGHTS LIKE CHEN YUNG-KUEI AND WEI KUO-CHING  
WHAT IS LEFT? SOME RADICALS TO BE SURE BUT THEN CHOU  
HIMSELF, YEH CHIEN-YING AND LI HSIEN-NIEN, IN SHORT THE  
SAME OLD GROUP WHICH HAS BEEN RUNNING CHINA. COMPOSITION  
OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE ALSO BEWILDERING. FOR EXAMPLE,  
INTERPRETERS NANCY TANG AND LIN LI-YUN ON COMMITTEE BUT  
TRADE MINISTER PAI HIANG-KUO IS NOT RPT NOT WHILE HIS  
DEPUTY IS.

6. COMMENT: OGURA'S ASSESSMENT DOES NOT RPT NOT CHANGE  
FONOFF'S BELIEF THAT CONGRESS BASICALLY CONFIRMED CHOU'S  
POLICIES OF PAST TWO YEARS AND PROMISES SIMILAR COURSE  
IN NEAR FUTURE. SECOND THOUGHTS ON CONGRESS REPRESENT  
DOUBTS ABOUT LONGER TERM STABILITY OF COALITION CHOU HAS  
STRUCTURED WITH IMPLICATION THAT FROM QTE MILLIONS OF  
SUCCESSORS UNQTE NEW FACES MAY YET APPEAR TO RULE CHINA.  
FAILURE OF CONGRESS TO COME TO GRIPS WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS  
CONCERNS JAPANESE DIRECTLY SINCE HOPES AND PLANNING FOR IN-  
CREASED ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA ARE HAMPERED BY LACK  
OF CLARITY IN CHINA'S ECONOMIC FUTURE.

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